1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the
796 head of the family must also attend when shamanistic
769 ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority
471 over all the community property. All money coming to any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrange-
592 ments for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging

592 to the family. In the event that a member of his own
681 family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup t his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the
851 twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [P. 100.6]

553 taking with him a bottle of wine, a scarf of felicity, and two hundred copper cash strung on a red cord to which 851 a flock of wool is attached. He prostrates himself nine times and invites the grandfather to name the child. The grandfather is seated on the *k'ang* in all his dignity, and the whole family is gathered in the room. The mother, cradling the child in her arms and her eyes wet with tears stands before the grandfather with her husband at her side. The father ceremoniously lays the scarf of felicity across the outstretched hands of the grandfather, and presents a cup of wine. Father and mother prostrate themselves nine times, and the mother then asks the grandfather to bestow on the child a name of good omen. This is the first time that the grandfather has seen the child. Looking like the living image of ancestral pride, he solemnly confers a name and makes the mother a present of a few pierced copper cash—always an even number. He then takes his grandson in his arms and kisses him and the child is then passed on to all the other members of the family who embrace him in the same way, joyfully congratulating the father and mother.

608 In families where there are few children or where a number of children have died in infancy, it is common 851 to invite the head of a family that is blessed with many children to name the child, thus passing on the "luck" 553 of his own fertile family. This custom is of Chinese origin as is the custom, in poor families, of inviting a rich and respected man to preside at the name-giving ceremony, thus becoming the *kan-fu* or "dry father" (a Chinese term) of the child. This relationship somewhat resembles that of an adoptive father, and the child throughout his life is considered to be in some way related to the family of his "dry father." At the New Year and other important festivals he will always visit his "dry father," showing him much the same kind of affection and respect that he shows to his maternal uncle. The "dry father" keeps up a protective interest in the child and can be expected to help in such things as arranging his marriage; but the relationship is not one of full adoption, in which the child is actually taken into the adopting family.

553 Boys are frequently given the Tibetan names of lamaistic deities or the Chinese names of Taoist deities, or names such as "Longevity," "Felicity," "Peace," "Prosperity," "Strength," "Lion," or "Tiger." (The Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors usually go to a lama of the Red Hat sect to ask him to name a boy according to the character indicated by his horoscope.) Girls are given the names of lamaistic or Taoist female divinities or the names of flowers.

Many children, both boys and girls, are given a name that records the age of their father's mother when they were born, such as "sixty," or "sixty-five." The name of the father's father is given in this way only if the father's mother is no longer living. Among the Chinese of this region, on the other hand, a child is fre-

quently named according to the age of the grandfather but never according to the age of the grandmother. Among the Manchus, the child is not named until it is a full year old, and it is customary to give the first son the name of the oldest son of the father's oldest brother.[27]

When, as described above, a man is invited to act as "dry father," the name that he gives to a boy as a personal name is his own clan name, combined with the Chinese words *chia pao*, so that the child is known as Lichiapao or Machiapao, "Protected by the Li family," or "Protected by the Ma family." In an analogous way, if an influential man has visited the family about the time when the boy was born, his name may be given to the boy.[28]

Sometimes in a poor family the mother will take her son in her arms on the twenty-ninth day and go out to the highway where she will prostrate herself before the first traveler she meets and ask him to give his name to the boy. In such cases, it is good luck if the mother meets an influential person. I myself was once riding on a journey when a woman with a child in her arms prostrated herself before me in this manner. She was a woman who had seen me before and recognized me. Turning her smiling face up to me and with a light in her eyes she said "Are you not the Father? Today I am a happy mother; I will name my child Shenfupao—Protected by the Priest." This custom, it should be noted, is never followed in the case of a first-born son.

While living among the Monguors I never heard names describing bodily deformities, nor names such as Five Pounds, or Seven Pounds, recording the weight of the child at birth, or Big Horse, Second Mule, Small Cow. Such names are used by the Chinese of this region, but not by the Monguors. On the other hand, both Monguors and Chinese sometimes give names such as Bad Son, Whom the Dogs Will Not Eat, Monstrous Boy, Monstrous Girl. Such names are intended to deceive the evil spirits, so that they will pass by the "Bad Boy" and choose some other victim.[29]

The actual giving of the name, as already described, takes place in the privacy of the father's extended family, without the presence of the mother's relatives or other guests. The mother's parents and her maternal uncles arrive about noon, and at the same time representatives of each family in the village come to take part in the festivities. Tea is first served and then the father and the mother with her child in her arms prostrate themselves nine times before the whole gathering while the mother says "The boy is paying homage."

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[27] Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, as cited, 119.

[28] Thus Chingis Khan was given the name of Temujin, after an important prisoner whom his father had captured at the time he was born.—O. L.

[29] This practice among the Monguors may not be due solely to Chinese influence. Among the Western Mongols, especially the Torguts of the Altai, who are remote from Chinese influence, it is also very common to give names of this kind.—O. L.

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553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

[P.102a]

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553 851 527 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked, however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

[8 cont.]
114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger [776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
553 of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

805 Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
771 to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[620]

000 IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event [851] known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other rela- [431] tives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is [553] solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then [527] there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night. [852]

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a [857] boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family [273] of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the [593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

846 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after 431 the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and [262] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]
846 loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter,
431 and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole
[262] in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

[858] Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts
[822] for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

553 Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-
791 soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the
[787] master of the household gives the great incense offering in the
[592] yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the [778] child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

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3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guānbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guāmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sērāṅ (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; laṡdze sērāṅ, pass-peak-palace; tuguān ula, mountain of the Tuguān. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[621 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 622 cont.] the father or grandfather or someone else in the family was just fifty years old, but the mother's family has no influence on such names. For boys, instead of mdzuo (full) one says serañ, that is, roughly "sublime." Other names are, for example, wadma sdzig, that is, lotus flower, for girls; or wadma sdzia, that is, dedicated to the lotus, for boys. -- The Chinese, too, have a similar custom. They, for example, take a boy to the temple of the black tiger and then call him "dedicated to the black tiger," hei-hu-pao; or "dedicated to the mother," niang-niang-pao, when they have put the child under the protection of the mother-goddess in the temple. The Chinese pao and the sdzia of the Tujen have the same meaning.

[171]

5. [Foreign text p. 622.] sĕrăn: Tibetan sraṅ (?) = dwelling, settlement (Unkrig).

●553 791 child to eat; he likewise offers it tea. It is not the child, however, but the mother who eats the gifts. Then everyone makes a threefold kowtow in the house to the soothsayer and the Buddha image, and outside to the sky.

[592] If the spear-spirit desires that the family elder should give the name, the latter performs the same ceremonies, but the soothsayer supervises the performance with the trembling spear. Also, the kowtow is then made to the family elder. -- 553 This ceremony is usually undertaken by the grandfather or 592 father, or by the man who is the master in the family (4). It [792]

[621 cont.]

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4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

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Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

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2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]

852 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance
553 far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

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846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

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2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and
[302] places various things before it. From the object that the child
[778] grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[229 cont.]

776 171 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] 756 [787]

174 776 [192] Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name ġlu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

wan (the bent of the Mongols), and who was assistant official of the administrative body of the province of Kansu, representing all the officials of Huangchung, went to court to surrender (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*). Together with him, Li Nan-ko, of Shat'o origin, vice-chairman of the administrative body of Hsining, surrendered with the officials of the entire district (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*), and all the officials received appointments.[61] T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, Li Nan-ko, and all the officials who had surrendered, became the founding ancestors of the t'u-ssu clans[62] in Huangchung (Monguors I: 31). To them is to be added Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i, member of the imperial family who had surrendered in 1369. In that way all the officials of the region of Hsining and Nienpei had surrendered and in the next year, 1372, Hsining was created a commandery (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 9*b*). In the first moon of 1373 the emperor sent the edict to T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh:

I govern the empire; with prominent people of all the world who love justice, I deal with courtesy, granting them offices, in order that they might have the opportunity to manifest their qualities. You, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who have lived long in the western country, have heard about our highly developed culture and have come to my court. I appreciate your intention. Now at the beginning of the establishment of the commandery of Hsining, I especially request your help. I hope you will devote yourself wholeheartedly to the submission of the tribes and the strict observance of the law, in order that the country may enjoy peace. I hope you will respond to my desire to give you this appointment. Have the title of Hsuan-wei chiang-chun (general who manifests his military qualities) and be commander of the commandery of Hsining. Edict, First moon, Sixth year, Hung Wu period. (*Annals* of Hsining 32: 16*a*.)

The *Annals* note that he had received at the time of his surrender in 1371 the hereditary function of secretary commandant. The imperial edict of the first moon of 1373 granted him the function of commander of the commandery. The clan of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was rewarded in 1401 by the emperor with the name Ch'i, when his son Chuan Chou had died on the field of battle.

WHO WERE THE OFFICIALS WHO SURRENDERED IN A GROUP IN 1371?

The Mongol T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh and his 700 families, the Shat'o Li Nan-ko with his 4,000 families, the Shat'o Li Wen nephew of Li Nan-ko, controlling 963 families, and the Shat'o chiefs Na-sha-mi and Chi

[61] *Ming Shih* 330: 2*a*.

[62] I use the term "clan" to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have, nevertheless, adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen at the time they were integrated in the group.

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discharged his office with distinction until his dying day. The faithfulness of the Monguor t'u-ssu will become more and more manifest during the reigns of the subsequent Ming emperors.

MONGUORS OF HUANGCHUNG DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CH'ENG TSUNG (YUNG LO), 1403–1424

T'ai Tsung, first emperor of the Ming, had appointed as successor his grandson, Huei Ti, an inexperienced young boy. His uncle, the Prince of Yen, youngest son of the emperor, revolted and defeated his nephew in a four year struggle.[74] He ascended the throne in 1403. He was called by the name of the period of his reign, Yung Lo.

Yung Lo, who must have known T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, who during 1380–1387 had fought the brigands of the Mongol Emperor T'o ku ssu in Liao-tung, had called the Kansu troops to join his army. T'u-ssu Tuan Chou, who had succeeded his deceased father, went with his troops to rescue Yung Lo in 1399. He died on the field of battle. Yung Lo rewarded the faithful t'u-ssu, granting to his clan the name of Ch'i and giving to the clan chief a mansion in the city of Hsining, and posthumously bestowing upon him the title of Piao-ch'i chiang-chun (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 13*a*; *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 44*b*).

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Yi also had taken the side of Yung Lo in his revolt against Huei Ti. He was rewarded with the office of Chih-huei t'ung-chih in Lu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 36*b*). During this period more troubles occurred in Huangchung. Lu T'u-ssu Kung Pu shih chieh repelled the invasion of the Mongol Pu Yen ta shih in 1402, who looted the region of Liang-chow. The t'u-ssu offered to Emperor Yung Lo in 1403 the captured prisoners and a tribute of horses. He was promoted to centurion in Chuang Lang.

The same year, 1402, the turbulent I lin sheng pen revolted again in Kokonor and looted the region of Kui Te and the southern valley of Hsining. T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-ch'i went to fight the rebel and died on the field of battle (*Annals* of Hsining **27**: 12*b*). The troubled conditions in Huangchung at that time seem to have been the reason why no more t'u-ssu participated in the struggle of Yung Lo against Huei Ti.

The new emperor had to contend with the tremendous problem of the Mongols, and this dangerous prospect was not bright. During the reign of his father (1368–1398) nine expeditions had to be launched against them. A constant struggle against the empire and endless dissension of the different tribes among themselves was to be expected. The struggle between

[74] In Monguors II: 16, 21, 22, are recorded the history of the foundation of the monastery of Ch'u T'an by San la, and the wonderful legends circulating among the lamas related to the mysterious disappearance of Emperor Huei Ti, who became lama in the monastery of Ch'u T'an, settled there and died.

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first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family carnot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.